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SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

AT AUBURN, OCTOBER 20, 1865.

The friends and neighbors of Secretary Seward, desiring to manifest their regard for him previous to his return to Washington, paid him a parting visit at his residence on Friday, October 20, 1865. The weather was cold and stormy, but a large number of citizens were, nevertheless, in attendance. The Rev. Dr. Hawley, of the First Presbyterian Church, addressed the Secretary in behalf of the citizens in the following remarks:

REMARKS OF REV. DR. HAWLEY.

SECRETARY SEWARD: Your friends and neighbors are gathered in this informal manner to welcome you home once more, in the midst of familiar scenes and cherished associations. A cordial and affectionate greeting always awaits you in Auburn. Whenever you have come back to us, whether from journeyings in foreign lands, or to seek a brief respite from public cares, in times of peace or war, we have claimed the privilege of neighbors, to take you by the hand and listen to your words of cheer and counsel.

Time and events have strengthened these bonds of friendship and made them sacred. The trials and sufferings, personal and national, which

have come of the war, now happily ended, have taught us all lessons of patience and wisdom, brotherly kindness and charity. No sorrow in the sum of agony which the nation has paid for its life, conspicuous or obscure, has been in vain. The path of duty is always the path of sacrifice. The men who stood at the head of Government, in that terrible time, and bore the daily burden, did not ask others to brave dangers which they were not willing, themselves, to encounter. In their mission, given them of Heaven to fulfill with a consecrated patriotism, and religious fidelity, they did not count their own lives dear unto them. Our beloved President, whose worth none could have known as you knew it, whose confidence and labors and perils you shared so largely, must at last make his grave with the martyrs of liberty, to complete the nation's sacrifice.

It has been your lot, my dear sir, after a long and honored service of the State, and in the orderings of a wise Providence, which in a great crisis always regards the fitness of men for their place, to take a chief part in the momentous events of the past five years. The whole world knows where you have stood, and what you have done, and what you have suffered, toward the result over which all now rejoice. The past is secure—and the reward is certain. Need I say that all this while, you have had our support and confidence, our sympathy and our prayers. The blow from the assassin's hand, which struck you down, smote our hearts. The great national bereavement put on a deeper gloom because of the peril that hung over your life, and the lives of your household, which has always been a part of ourselves. We wept with you, when the life, dear to you as your own, was taken. We rejoiced with you, when the life which was bound up in yours was restored.

I know you will pardon this allusion to scenes and events which have endeared you to your friends and neighbors, not only, but have attracted public sympathy at home and abroad. They make this interview one of thoughtful and tender interest. They lift public life out of the sphere of personal ambition, and partizan strife, and invest it with unwonted dignities and sacred memories. And now, through the mercy of God, who has wrought a great salvation for our common country, and has given to

all that measure of wisdom and courage, and sacrifice, which the time demanded, we greet you to-day, in renewed health and vigor, hopeful for the future, as in the past, still at your post, and taking your part in the more congenial task of restoring to the whole country the blessings of Peace and Union and Liberty.

This is a visit both of welcome and of parting—for a season. May our Heavenly Father ever have you and your family in His care and loving kindness; and may it please Him so to guide you and all who have charge of public trusts, as to fulfill the best hopes we cherish for our nation and for all men.

At the conclusion of Dr. Hawley's remarks Secretary Seward addressed his neighbors and friends from the steps of his residence, as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. W. H. SEWARD.

My Good Friends: A meeting with you here from time to time, as opportunity serves and duty permits, is not merely a privilege, but even a blessing. Your greeting on this occasion comes in the season when fruits are clustered around us, although the leaves above our heads and the grass beneath our feet are yet fresh and green. The assemblage which has gathered to express to me its good wishes harmonizes with the season and the scene. However youthful a townsman of Auburn is, he is nevertheless habitually thoughtful; however old, he is yet always cheerful and hopeful. This particular greeting calls up not mere fancies, but memories—some new and others old; some pleasing, others mournful: some private, others public; with all of which, however, you all are intimately and generously associated; and those memories have become so indelibly impressed upon me that they seem to me to constitute a part of my very being. We have met occasionally during the past five years, but always under circumstances that were painful, and which excited deep solicitude. You freely gave me your sympathies then, even when my visits were hurried; when my appeals to you, and through you to more distant fellow-citizens, to make new efforts and sacrifices for our suffering country, must have seemed querulous and exacting: but when

either public or private anxieties denied me the privilege of even temporary rest and calmness. Who that labored under the weight of a disproportionate responsibility could have rested or been at ease, when the land which he ought to love with more than earthly affection was threatened every day with a violent dissolution of its political institutions, to to be too quickly followed by domestic anarchy, and afterwards by imperial, and possibly foreign despotism! Would to God that the patriots of Mexico had never, in the midst of her civil commotions, taken to themselves the comfort of indifference and repose! But all is now changed. The civil war is ended. Death has removed his victims; liberty has crowned her heroes, and humanity has canonized her martyrs; the sick and the stricken are cured; the surviving combatants are fraternizing; and the country—the object of our just pride and lawful affection—once more stands collected and composed, firmer, stronger, and more majestic than ever before, without one cause of dangerous discontent at home, and without an enemy in the world. Why should we not felicitate each other on this change, and upon the new prospects which open before us?

These prospects, however, cover a broad field. I could not rightly tax your kindness so much as to survey the whole of it; and even if I were willing, you would kindly remember that at the present moment my power of speech is abridged. Only magnanimous themes are worthy of your intellectual understanding, or compatible with the feelings which have moved this interview.

We have lost the great and good Abraham Lincoln. He had reached a stage of moral consideration when his name alone, if encircled with a martyr's wreath, would be more useful to humanity than his personal efforts could be beneficial to any one country as her chosen chief magistrate. He is now associated with Washington. The two American chiefs, though they are dead, still live, and they are leading the entire human race in a more spirited progress towards fields of broader liberty and higher civilization.

In the place of Abraham Lincoln we have a new President. To most of you he is personally unknown. The people around me, with their customary thoughtfulness, are inquiring of those who are nearer to him than themselves what manner of man Andrew Johnson is, and what man-

ner of President he may be expected to be. When, in 1861, treason, laying aside, for the moment, the already obnoxious mask of slavery, and investing itself with the always attractive and honored robes of Democratic freedom, flashed its lurid light through the Senate chamber, and announced, as already completed, a dissolution of the Union, then a leader, who should be at first a Senatorial and afterwards a popular leader, was required, to awaken sleeping loyalty and patriotism throughout the land, to rouse its unconscious hosts and to inspire them with the resolution needed to rescue the Constitution, suppress the rebellion, and preserve the integrity of the Republic. To me reason seemed to suggest, in this case, as a necessity resulting from circumstances, that that leader while he should be a capable, inflexible, and devoted patriot, should also be a citizen of a hesitating Border State—a slaveholder in practice, though not in principle, and yet in principle and association a Democrat. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, completely filled these complex conditions, and with the consent of the whole American people he assumed the great responsibility. The insurrection soon became flagitious, insolent, defiant, and announced, to the astonishment of mankind, that the pretended free empire which it was building by usurpation within forbidden borders was founded upon the corner-stone of slavery! The newly-inaugurated President, with decision, not unaccompanied by characteristic prudence, announced that thenceforth slavery should be deemed and treated as a public enemy. Andrew Johnson accepted the new condition of his popular leadership which this announcement created, and thenceforward he openly, freely, and honestly declared, not only that the erection of the new edifice should be prevented, but the corner-stone of slavery itself, the rock of all our past as well as of all our then future dangers, should be uplifted and removed, and cast out from the Republic. Whatever may have been thought by you, or by me, or by others, at that time, it is now apparent that the attempted revolution culminated when the national banner was for the first time successfully replanted by our gallant army on the banks of the Cumberland, and when Tennessee, first among the Border States which had been reluctantly carried into rebellion, offered once more a foothold and a resting-place to the authorities

of the Union. From that time, while it was yet necessary to prosecute the war with such energies as human nature had never before exerted, it was at the same time equally needful, with wisdom which had never been surpassed, to prosecute the beneficent work of restoring the Union, and harmonizing the great political family which, although it had been temporarily distracted, was destined, nevertheless, to live and grow forever under that majestic protection. The abolition of slavery was thenceforth equally an element of persistent war and of returning peace. He neither reads history with care nor studies the ways of Providence with reverence, who does not see that, for the prosecution of these double, diverse, and yet equally important purposes of war and peace, Andrew Johnson was fitly appointed to be a Provisional Governor in Tennessee—the first of a series of Provisional Governors afterwards to be assigned to the insurrectionary States—and was subsequently elected Vice President, and in the end constitutionally inaugurated President of the United States.

We are continually hearing debates concerning the origin and authority of the plan of restoration. New converts, North and South, call it the President's plan. All speak of it as if it were a new and recent development. On the contrary, we now see that it is not specially Andrew Johnson's plan, nor even a new plan in any respect. It is *the* plan which abruptly yet distinctly offered itself to the last Administration, at the moment I have before recalled, when the work of restoration was to begin; at the moment when, although by the world unperceived, it did begin, and it is the only plan which thus seasonably presented itself; and, therefore, is the only possible plan which then or ever afterward could be adopted. This plan, although occasionally requiring variation of details, nevertheless admits of no substantial change or modification. It could neither be enlarged nor contracted. State conventions in loyal States, however favorable, in disloyal States, however hostile, could not lawfully or effectually disallow it; and even the people themselves, when amending the Constitution of the United States, are only giving to that plan its just and needful sovereign sanction. In the meantime, the executive and legislative authorities of Congress can do no more than discharge their proper functions of protecting the recently insurgent States from anarchy during the intervening period while the plan is being car-

ried into execution. It is essential to this plan that the insurrectionary States shall, by themselves, and for themselves, accept and adopt this plan, and thereby submit themselves to and recognize the national authority. This is what I meant when I said to Mr. Adams, in a passage which you may possibly recall, that in the sense in which the word *subjugation* was then used by the enemies of the United States, at home and abroad, it was not the expectation or purpose of this Government that the Southern States should be subjugated; but that I thought that those States would be brought, by the judiciously mingled exercise of pressure and persuasion, to a condition in which they would voluntarily return to their allegiance. This was the explanation which Mr. Adams gave to Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister of England, when that great, and, as I trust, not unfriendly statesman, said that he did not believe that the Federal Union could be restored, because he knew that while any man can lead a horse to the water, no man could make him drink. The plan, therefore, recognizes not the destruction, nor even the subversion of States, but their actual existence; and it reasons from facts as they are, not from assumed or possible changes to be effected by continual war—much less does it reason from mere chimeras. This absolute existence of the States which constitute the Republic is the most palpable of all the facts with which the American statesman has to deal. If many have stumbled over it into treason and rebellion, the fact, for all legitimate deductions and purposes, nevertheless remains. In a practical sense, at least, the States were before the American Union was. Even while they were colonies of the British crown they still were embryo States—several, free, self-existing, and indestructible. Our Federal Republic exists, and henceforth and forever must exist, through, not the creation, but the combination of these several, free, self-existing, stubborn States. These States are not stakes driven into the ground by an imperial hand, nor are they posts hauled together, squared, and hewed, and so erected loosely upon it: but they are living, growing, majestic trees, whose roots are widely spread and interlaced within the soil, and whose shade covers the earth. If at any time any of these trees shall be blown down or upturned by violence, it must be lifted up again in its proper place, and sustained by kindly hands until it has renewed its

natural stability and erectness! If at any time the American Union is fractured through a lesion of one of its limbs, that limb must be restored to soundness before due constitutional health and vigor can be brought back to the whole system. If one of these limbs offend, we have indeed the power—and I will not cavil about the right—to cut it off and cast it away from us; but when we should have done that, we would have done just what other nations less wise than ourselves have done, that have submitted unnecessarily to amputation, and given up a material portion of their strength, to save themselves from apprehended destruction. We know the inherent strength, vitality, and vigor of the whole American people. We neither passionately torment any offending limb, nor consent to its being cut off, because we know that all of our limbs are capable of being restored, and all are necessary to the prolongation of our national life.

You will ask whether a reconciliation which follows so closely upon military coercion can be relied upon. Can it be sincere? Can it be permanent? I answer: Do you admit separation to be in any case possible? Does anybody now believe that it ever will hereafter become possible? Will you yourselves now or ever consent to it? You answer all these questions in the negative. Is not reconciliation, then, not only desirable, but imperative? Is any other reconciliation, under the circumstances, possible? Certainly you must accept this proposed reconciliation, or you must purpose to delay and wait until you can procure a better one. Good surgery requires that even simple wounds, much more severe ones, shall be healed, if possible, at the first intention. Would not delay necessarily prolong anarchy? Are you sure that you can procure a better reconciliation after prolonged anarchy, without employing force? Who will advocate the employment of force merely to hinder and delay, through prolonged anarchy, a reconciliation which is feasible and perfectly consistent with the Constitution? In what part of the Constitution is written the power to continue civil war against succumbing States for ultimate political triumph? What would this be but, in fact, to institute a new civil war, after one had ended with the complete attainment of the lawful objects for which it was waged? Congress and the Administration have power to levy wars against foreign

States for whatever cause they see fit. Congress and the President have a right to accept or even make war against any part of the people of the United States only under their limited power to suppress sedition and insurrection, and for that purpose only. What then? Must we give up the hope of further elevation of classes in the several States without any new guaranties for individual liberty and progress? By no means. Marching in this path of progress and elevation of masses is what we have been doing still more effectually in the prosecution of the war. It is a national march, as onward and irresistible as the late conflict between free and slave labor was vigorous and irrepressible. The plan of reconciliation we are pursuing has given us two great national advances in this progress of moral and political elevation, which are now to be made fast and firmly fixed. First, it secures a voluntary abolition of slavery by every State which has engaged in insurrection; and secondly, it must secure and does secure an effectual adoption by the late slave States themselves of the amendment of the Federal Constitution, which declares that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall ever hereafter exist in any part of the United States. The people who have so steadily adhered to the true path of Democratic progress and civilization through all the seductions of peace, and through so many difficulties and at such fearful cost in war, will now have new inducements and encouragements to persevere in that path until they shall have successfully reduced to a verity the sublime assertion of the political equality of all men, which the founders, in their immortal declaration, laid down as the true basis of American Union.

It is certain that the plan of reconciliation which I have thus largely explained must and will be adopted. It may, however, be hindered or hastened. How can it be hindered? You shew yourselves aware of the answer when you fasten upon any violent, factious, or seditious exhibition of passion or discontent in any of the lately rebellious States and argue from it the failure of the plan. You argue justly. Every turbulent and factious person in the lately insurrectionary States is resisting, hindering, and delaying the work of restoration to the extent of his ability. But the case is precisely the same with ourselves. Manifestations of doubt, distrust, crimination, contempt, or defiance, in the loyal

States, are equally injurious, and equally tend to delay the work of reconciliation. How, then, shall it be hastened? I reply, virtually in the language of the President—in the spirit of the Constitution, and in harmony, not only with our politics, but with our religion. "We must trust each other." Can we not trust each other? Once we were friends. We have since been enemies. We are friends again. But, whether in friendship or in enmity, in peace or in war, we are and can be nothing else to each other than brethren. A few evenings ago, an hundred Southern men, who recently had been more or less influential and leading revolutionists, visited my house at Washington. They were frank, unreserved, and earnest in their assurances of acquiescence and reconciliation, as I also was in mine. Happily, a party of intelligent Englishmen were in my dwelling at the same time. I introduced the late rebels to the representatives of sympathising England, and I said to the parties: "You lately each of you thought that the Southern men preferred British rule to citizenship in the United States." While the Englishmen individually disclaimed, both parties promptly answered, as they do now, that the idea was not merely a delusion, but an absurd mistake. They now knew that even during the excitement of the war, the American citizen, whether North or South, really preferred his own countrymen of every section to any other people in the world.

Some of you fear that the President may be too lenient to those Southern leaders who plunged the country into the calamities of civil war. Except those of you who have been maimed or bereaved, have any of you suffered more of wrong, insult, and violence at the hands of those leaders than he has? Can we not forget where he can forgive? Are you aware that his terms of amnesty are far more rigorous than those which were offered by Abraham Lincoln? Have you ever seen the majesty of law more firmly maintained than it has been by him in the exercise of discriminating clemency? Some of you seem to have been slightly disturbed by professions or demonstrations of favor toward the President made by parties who have heretofore opposed his administration, as well as the administration of his predecessor. And you ask: May not the President yet prove unfaithful to us? For myself, I laid

aside partizanship, if I had any, in 1861, when the salvation of the country demanded that sacrifice. It is not, therefore, my purpose to descend to mere partizanship now. Andrew Johnson laid aside, I am sure, whatever of partizanship he had, at the same time. That noble act did not allow, but, on the other hand, it forbade collusion by the friends of the Union with opponents of the policies of the war and of reconciliation which the Government has found it necessary to pursue. Duty requires absolute and uncompromising fidelity to the supporters of those policies, whosoever and of whatsoever party they may be. Andrew Johnson has practiced that fidelity against the violence of enemies, to the sacrifice of his fortune, the hazard of his liberty, and even the peril of his life. The same fidelity is still identified with the success of those policies, and, of course, is necessary to the achievement of their magnificent ends. Why should he now abandon those policies, and desert time-honored and favored supporters, merely because the dawning success of our efforts has compelled former opponents to approve and accept them? Patriotism and loyalty equally, however, require that fidelity in this case should be mutual. Be ye faithful, therefore, on your part, and although the security I offer is unnecessary and superfluous, yet I will guarantee fidelity on his part. Those who hitherto opposed the President, but now profess to support him, either are sincere or insincere. Time must prove which is the fact. If they are sincere, who that has a loyal heart must not rejoice in their late, though not too-long-delayed conversion? If they are insincere, are we either less sagacious or have we less ability now than heretofore to counteract treachery to the national cause? Perhaps you fear the integrity of the man. I confess, with a full sense of my accountability, that among all the public men whom I have met or with whom I have been associated or concerned, in this or any other country, no one has seemed to me to be more wholly free from personal caprice and selfish ambition than Andrew Johnson: none to be more purely and exclusively moved in public action by love of country and good will to mankind.

I hope I have said enough of the President. Shall I now speak of his associates in administration—the heads of executive departments, as they are called? I do it cheerfully, because now, for the first time, I am free

to speak of them as I truly regard and esteem them. Heretofore I could not do so without inviting what might prove injurious debate—moreover, I could not do so without seeming to desire for myself some exemption from censure, some exercise of clemency, which self-respect forbade me personally to invoke. For the time, I said to myself:

> "My name is lost;
> By treason's tooth bare-knawn and canker-bit.
> Yet I am noble as the adversary
> I come to cope withal."

That time has passed away. The present and the last Administrations are inseparably allied. Their work is now either completely done, or its end is near at hand. The heads of departments in these allied Administrations are now separable without injury to the national safety and welfare. Each is entitled to his proper merit, and each must be content to bear his distinct responsibility.

We have had three Secretaries of the Treasury. I believe that the fiscal system under which the nation has been conducted through greater difficulties than any other nation ever encountered was not only wisely projected and efficiently organized by Mr. Chase, but was the only one which, under the then existing circumstances, could have been successful. There has been since no departure from that plan, nor any relaxation in pursuing it, by either his immediate successor, Mr. Fessenden, or by Mr. McCulloch, the present incumbent. Intricate financial questions must continue to present themselves from time to time, until we shall have turned the outgoing tide of debt, and begun to experience the incoming flow of surplus revenue. For myself I can safely leave them to the care of the Secretary of the Treasury.

We have had two Secretaries of War, Mr. Cameron and Mr. Stanton. The period of the first was short; that of the last has been long. Of Mr. Cameron I bear witness that he was in all things honest, earnest, zealous, and patriotic. Of Mr. Stanton I am to speak in even more exalted praise. My acquaintance with him began amid the hours of deep and overwhelming solicitude which filled what may justly be called an interregnum which occurred between the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, in November, 1860, and his inauguration, in March, 1861, and while Edwin M. Stanton was an acting member of the waning Administration of James Buchanan. From that time, through all the

period which elapsed until April, 1865, when the siege of the capital was raised, and the fearful tragedy of the country was closed with the assassination of the Chief Magistrate who had saved it, I hourly saw and closely observed, by night and by day, the Secretary of War. I saw him organize and conduct a war of pure repression, greater than any war which mankind has before experienced. In all that time I saw no great or serious error committed. I saw, as you have all seen, the greatest military results achieved—results which the whole world regarded as impossible. There is not one of those results that is not more or less directly due to the fertile invention, sagacious preparation, and indomitable perseverance and energy of the Secretary of War. I have never known him to express or even betray a thought in regard to our country which was not divine. What remains to be done, by exhibiting military force in bringing the insurrectionary States out from anarchy into a condition of internal peace and co-operation with the Government, may be safely trusted to him.

I am equally satisfied with the naval administration of Mr. Welles; and yet I am bound to acknowledge that, during the whole period of his service, the navy has practically enjoyed the administration of two sagacious and effective chiefs. The Secretary of the Navy will himself, I am sure, approve and thank me for this tribute to his assistant, Captain Fox. The Department has achieved glory enough to divide between them. I apprehend neither now nor in any near future any danger of maritime collision or conflict; but I think the maintenance of naval preparation equally advantageous, both at home and abroad, with regard to questions which, without that precaution, might possibly arise. I am content to leave the responsibility of this case with Mr. Welles.

We have had three Secretaries of the Interior, or Home Department —Mr. Smith, Mr. Usher, and Mr. Harlan. Amid the tumults of war and the terror inspired by foreign conspiracies, the operations of the Home Department have all the while been carried on without arresting attention, or even obtaining observation. It might be sufficient praise to say of its chiefs that now, when the time for scrutiny has come, those unobserved operations are found to have been faultless. But this is not all. A thousand, five thousand years hence, men will inquire when and

by whom was projected and instituted the steam overland connection, which, during all the intervening period, will be seen to have indissolubly bound the distant coasts of the Pacific to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The answer will be, it was projected and instituted by the Secretaries of the Interior during the administration of Abraham Lincoln.

We have had two Postmaster Generals. No more prudent or efficient one than Montgomery Blair has ever presided in that Department. In his successor, Mr. Dennison, we find a practised statesman, who, under the improved circumstances of our national condition, is giving us special and peculiar cause for satisfaction. He is promptly restoring the transportation of mails throughout the late theatre of war, and in that way performing an eminent part in the reconciliation of the American people. Watchful of the interests of external as well as of internal commerce, he has brought into action a new and direct postal line with Brazil, and thus has introduced us to more intimate intercourse with the States of South America. A year hence we shall see him extending commercial, political, and friendly connection to the islands of the Pacific and the great continents that lie beyond it.

I wish you all could understand Mr. Speed, the Attorney General, as I do. I do not know whether he is to be admired more for varied and accurate learning, or for what seems to be an intuitive faculty of moral philosophy. Only the delicate nervous system, which we all enjoy, but so seldom appreciate, seems to me to furnish a parallel for his quick sensibilities in the discovery and appreciation of truth. Firmer than most men in his convictions, and braver in his hopes of the progress of humanity, he is nevertheless temperate, thoughtful, and wise in the conduct of administration.

These are they who were or are the counsellors and agents of the President of the United States during the eventful period through which we have passed. That they have always agreed from the first in deciding the momentous questions with which they were engaged is not asserted. A Cabinet which should agree at once on every such question would be no better or safer than one counsellor. Our republican system, and the political system of every free country, requires, if not a "multitude of counsellors," at least an aggregation and diverseness of counsellors.

But this I do maintain and confidently proclaim, that every important decision of the Administration's has been wise. I maintain with equal firmness, and declare with still greater pleasure, the opinion that no council of government ever existed in a revolutionary period in any nation which was either more harmonious or more loyal to each other, to their chief, and to their country. Had this council been at any time less harmonious or less loyal, I should then have feared the downfall of the Republic.

Happily, I need not enter the field to assign honors to our military and naval chiefs. Their achievements, while they have excited the admiration and won the affectionate gratitude of all our countrymen, have already become a grand theme of universal history.

I omit to speak of foreign nations and of the proceedings of the Government in regard to them for two reasons: first, because the discussion of such questions is for a season necessarily conducted without immediate publicity: the other is a reason I need not assign. Nevertheless, I may say in general terms this: We have claims upon foreign nations for injuries to the United States and their citizens, and other nations have presented claims against this Government for alleged injuries to them or their subjects. Although these claims are chiefly of a personal and pecuniary nature, yet the discussion of them involves principles essential to the independence of States and harmony among the nations. I believe that the President will conduct this part of our affairs in such a manner as to yield and recover indemnities justly due, without any compromise of the national dignity and honor. With whatever jealousy we may adhere to our inherited principle of avoiding entangling alliances with foreign nations, the United States must continue to exercise—as always before our civil war they did exercise—a just and beneficent influence in the international conduct of foreign States, particularly those which are near to us on this continent, and which are especially endeared to us by their adoption of republican institutions. That just influence of ours was impaired, as might have been apprehended by the American people, when they fell into the distractions of civil war. With the return of peace it is coming back to us again, in greater strength than ever. I am sure that this important interest has not been lost sight of by the

President of the United States for a single moment, and I expect that we shall see republican institutions, wherever they have been heretofore established throughout the American continent, speedily vindicated, renewed, and reinvigorated. When I shall see this progress successfully worked out on the American continent, I shall then look for the signs of its successful working throughout the other continents.

It is thus that I think the administrations of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson may be assumed as an epoch at which humanity will resume with new spirit and courage the career which, however slow, is nevertheless constantly directed toward the destruction of every form of human slavery, and the political equality of all men.

And now, my dear friends and neighbors, after this pleasant interview, we part once more—you to continue, I hope with unabated success and pleasure, your accustomed domestic and social pursuits: I to return to the Capital, there to watch and wait and work on a little longer. But we shall meet again. We came together to-day to celebrate the end of civil war. We will come together again under next October's sun, to rejoice in the restoration of peace, harmony, and union throughout the land. Until that time I refrain from what would be a pleasant task—the forecasting of the material progress of the country, the normal increase of population by birth and immigration, and its diffusion over the now obliterated line of Mason and Dixon, to the Gulf of Mexico, and over and across the Rocky Mountains along the border of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. I say now only this: Go on, fellow-citizens, increase and multiply as you have heretofore done. Extend channels of internal commerce as the development of agricultural, forest, and mineral resources requires. Improve your harbors, consolidate the Union now while you can, without unconstitutionally centralizing the Government, and henceforth you will enjoy, as a tribute of respect and confidence, that security at home and that consideration abroad which maritime powers of the world have of late, when their candor was specially needed, only reluctantly and partially conceded. May our Heavenly Father bless you and your families and friends, and have you all in His holy keeping until the rolling months shall bring around that happy meeting in 1866; and so, for the present, farewell.

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